

The IDLER

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Public Occurrences, Comment, Excursions & Rational Entertainment

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CUBA

By L. A. CHANGA

Our Latin American Correspondent

Dr. Fidel Castro Ruiz is different from all other Western Hemisphere dictators, past or present. I do not refer to his beard, to his penchant for olive drab fatigues, or to his reputed reluctance to take a bath. Nor do I refer to his crushing embrace of a totalitarian ideology or to his alliance with an aggressive foreign imperialism. Similar or identical things have been seen before in this half of the world. Castro's outstanding characteristic, and what makes him unique in Western Hemisphere history, is that his ambitions extend far beyond the borders of his country to embrace the whole Southern Continent. Moreover, he combines the intelligence, education, experience, ability, charisma and, above all, the persistence to make his ambitions far more than idle dreams. No matter how many times he is frustrated, no matter how many economic problems arise at home, he will try and try again to create replicas of Cuba in other lands. Human nature being what it is and human behavior being subject to random influences, Castro is bound eventually, given enough opportunities, to have another success, by sheer chance alone, if nothing else. A second success would make the third one considerably easier. Given the cold war context, the extension of Communist influence in this hemisphere poses an increasingly mortal threat to the United States and thus to all the independent nations of the world. Yet, if we wait for the OAS to act, we will wait 'til dooms-

day. In brief, we do not have enough U-2's to fly over all of Latin America. We must get Castro before he gets another piece of real estate, not so much because he is a Communist, but because he is Castro.

Now Castro is not only a man but also a myth. Moreover, what we are for in Cuba is not a particular man or group of men but an idea. Therefore we must destroy not only Castro but also the Castro myth and do so in such a way as to lay a sound base for Cuban democracy, so that it will prosper and be respected, both in Cuba and Latin America. The myth of Castro, like the idea of democracy, have both taken a lot of knocks lately, but there is still plenty of life left in them yet. This rules out assassination and also invasion, whether a nice clean-cut, direct one by American armed forces without so much as by-your-leave from anyone, or the type proposed by Senator Goldwater, carried out behind a clumsy false front of Cuban exiles that fools no one and only gums up the operation. On the contrary, the Cubans themselves (not the CIA) must take the lead in overthrowing Castro, and start from inside Cuba. They must run the whole show and bear the brunt of the struggle. The world must see a people in arms against tyranny. The Cubans must also be the ones who decide what Cuba will be like after Castro is gone. That, in fact, is the way most anti-Castro Cubans want it.

Unfortunately modern science and technology have given all the advantage to the government, at least to totalitarian governments, in cases of revolution. The days of the 1830's, when the people could pour into the

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streets, overturn wagons to form barricades, and tear up paving stones to throw at soldiers armed with muzzle loaders, are long gone. Obviously the Cubans also need outside help.

This latter requirement, however, raises the infuriating problem of how to achieve unity among the anti-Castro Cubans or at least among those in exile. In fact, it is more than a

problem, it is an impossibility. For example, Manuel Artime's *Movimiento de Recuperación Revolucionaria* probably possesses the largest armed force in being, but it is a popular front of the right, including ex-supporters of ex-dictator Batista. Now, the members of the *Junta Revolucionaria Cubana*, largest anti-Castro group, will never cooperate with *ex-batistianos* or people who cooperate with *ex-batistianos*. And many Cubans, organized and unorganized, simply do not trust Artime. They fear that he has dictatorial ambitions or at least admires dictator Franco. A smaller group does not like Manolo Ray, leader of the *Junta*, and still others don't like anybody. To take still another case, the *Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil* is linked to Jesuit exiles from Cuba who, unlike American Jesuits, are apt to be right wing, not left wing, and so lots of people will not work with the DRE either.

However, the unity of anti-Castro Cubans is not only impossible but undesirable and unnecessary. The willingness of people inside Cuba to turn against Castro is vital to the success of any struggle to overthrow him. These people simply will not risk their lives for any group which might bring back the bad old days, whether in authoritarian or constitutional guise. An organization that "unified" anti-Castro Cubans would have to include such groups and so start with a serious liability. Moreover, there is not an immediate military requirement for unity if the struggle is begun by sabotage and guerilla warfare inside Cuba. Indeed lack of initial unity will offer some protection against penetration by Communists or capture of key personnel. If the struggle proceeds successfully, the increasing military desirability of unity will probably lead to its realization without any arm twisting on our part. There is thus no reason why we, individually and governmentally, cannot start right now to help several different Cuban organizations. We should only be careful as to which ones. And no salaries or offices supplies this time, please.

THE IDLER'S JOURNAL

There are several places in this world that I own. Not because I paid cash for them, nor because I can produce any deed to support my claim.

I own these places because when I go to them no one is there. No one seems to want them. So, until another makes a claim, they are mine.

Someone has made a claim on one of my places. I only went there once, but I immediately decided that it would be mine. Now I must give it up, and I'm a little sorry.

Hurricane Island lies close to the Vinalhaven, the large island that guards the entrance to Maine's Penobscot Bay.

It once had a small village and a quarry. But when I visited the island, it was empty.

I climbed to the highest point of the island and, from that massive, moss-coated rock, stood a long time looking between the islands that line Hurricane Sound to the sea beyond that changed its color as it reflected the slowly descending rays of the sun. Below, and it seemed very far below, lay the little 40' cutter on which I had sailed to this place.

I stared down the sheer face of the rock. The drop, as close as I could figure it, was a hundred feet almost straight down, until it met with the soft mattress laid by years of falling softwood needles, twigs, and loose bark.

I would, perhaps, someday build a house here. In fact, the house was partially constructed. The rock face was as sturdy a wall as one could desire. The ground was as comfortable as the most expensive rug. Three more walls, one of them with a huge window from which to look down the sound, a roof, and the house would be complete.

I returned to the boat and told the others I wished to spend the night here. They shrugged; I gathered up my sleeping bag and returned ashore.

There was much to see on my new property and little time, for we were sailing on the next morning. I walked over the land making a mental list of my assets:

A huge tree that had been recently struck by lightning and was lying on the ground with a moist yellow scar running a full fifty feet along its proud, straight length. It looked brutal then, but I knew that in a few months the scar would fade from prominence as the tree died.

Tough little bushes that had fought their way up through cracks in the granite.

Various berries. Some were bitter and some tasted sweet, but all gave a pointilist's touch to small sections of the island.

A few boards, held together by fragile and rusted nails, with a purposeless strand of wire reaching out, but finding nothing to hold to, and so ending in the grass a few feet away.

A battalion of softwoods standing at attention, ready to defend the ground from the sun and the rain.

I slept on top of the rock that night, making a soft bed out of pine remnants on which to place my sleeping bag. The next morning, I awoke damp and a little cold, but very much awake. The sun had passed to the other side of the island during the night and now it was rising to my left as I looked toward the sound.

I walked down to the rocks from which the water was slowly receding as it did twice each day, dropping 9 feet then returning to the same place. The boat was near. I returned to it. We set sail, floated down the sound, then, with the sun, moved slowly to the west.

That was nearly ten years ago. I never had a chance to return to Hurricane Island. I sometimes felt guilty, being an absentee landlord, but I felt sure the island was safe.

Then, recently, I read a brief announcement somewhere:

"Outward Bound, a system of survival schools which originated in Great Britain, will be doing preliminary work on a new school to be established on Hurricane Island (in

Penobscot Bay, Maine) this summer."

Another claim had been made. I had no receipt, no deed, to show that it was still my island. Hurricane Island could no longer be one of my places. Now it belonged to others.

I'm a little sorry, but also happy, for it would be selfish to prevent others from gazing down the sound or tracing to its source the thin rivulet I had found. The new owners sounded like good people, people who would understand the reason for the island, people who would tend it, perhaps, far better than I.

I have other places, but Hurricane Island was one of my favorite. I hope the new owners will let me come back sometime.

THE IDLER

CONGRESS LEAVES THE DRIVING TO US

If you find it harder and harder to take a bus, it's because Congress has adopted the philosophy of leaving the driving to us. This year Congress approved a much publicized Urban Mass Transportation Act. For this "bold experiment" Congress proudly authorized \$375 million over a three-year period.

Meanwhile, unpublicized and routinely, Congress also authorized federal highway projects for fiscal 1966 and 1967 totaling \$1.2 billion for each year.

Now, there's hardly a place in this whole country to which we can't drive about as fast as we would like with one exception: downtown. And more highways won't solve that problem.

One of the ironies of our way of looking at life is that federal aid in the field of urban mass transportation has a socialistic tinge, while the federal highway program, for some obscure reason, is good old free enterprise.

To spend billions for highways and a reluctant few hundred million for mass transit is silly. Armies gave up moving men by bicycle and horseback years ago. Moving commuters

is similar to moving armies. The rule is basically the same. The best way to get people from one place to another is to provide a large box with some sort of motive power, put as many people in it as cheaply as possible, and get going.

These boxes may take the form of buses, monorails, subways, or helicopters, but the principle remains the same.

Mass transit is the urban citizen's best hope. If Congress continues to leave the driving to us, the only thing we'll end up taking will be a bust.

The Press and Religion

When the late President Kennedy became the first Catholic Chief Executive, many felt glad that the cross-burners had finally gotten too close to their own flames. Now, it seemed, only the charred remnants of bigotry remained. Actually, the only thing we could be sure of was that an attractive, dynamic, intelligent, witty, brave and eloquent Catholic could be elected President, which limits the field somewhat.

Still, progress was made. Hate took several steps backwards. The credit, however, even at this late date, has not been properly distributed. It was maintained by some that the press played an important role in leading the nation to a tolerant attitude towards Catholics in national politics. This is true enough, but not because of pulpitering from the editorial page about the evils of bigotry. Rather, over the years, the press has become decidedly pro-Catholic in its handling of news.

By the nature and extent of its coverage the vast majority of the nation's newspapers and broadcasting stations have so indoctrinated the public in Roman Catholic dogma and philosophy that is easier for many non-Catholics to speak more intelligently of the church of Rome than it is for them to discuss their own faith.

The tacit assumption of the nation's press is that the Roman Cath-

olic Church is a great organization that deserves equal billing with the United States, Russia, and China, and is more significant as news than such lesser entities as France, Great Britain, and India.

Religions, so the journalist's code goes, are not to be criticized. They are a force for good. The Roman Catholic Church, with its own state and even an infallible Pope, must, by size and power, be the greatest and the goodest. (For ease of handling and to cut down on the cost of foreign correspondents, one stays away from the Hindu, the Moslems, and the Buddhists, unless they do something dramatic like burn themselves up.)

Any but the most naive reporter or editor must realize that great religions do not live by faith alone. A great faith requires a great organization. This the Roman Catholic Church certainly has. And a great organization these days cannot escape the teachings of the public relations. Certainly Catholicism hasn't.

The journalist's job in reporting church affairs is not essentially different from his task in reporting politics. His first loyalty is to the facts. Tolerance or broad-mindedness does not require him to describe a religion only as it would like to be seen. He shouldn't have to accept ecumenism simply because many churchmen say it is a good thing. He doesn't have to tip-toe through the birth control controversy just because a major faith opposes contraception.

We question the value of ecumenism and see it as a form of creeping Norman-Vincent-Pealism, in which religion becomes as unvaried and uninteresting as television, having found the lowest common denominator and little else. Only when men stop thinking do their views of the infinite coincide.

We are certain there are a number of churchmen who feel the same way. But the impression given has been that ecumenism is something that all good and religious men would like to encourage if they could only overcome the obstacles of the past.

In the instance of the birth control question, the press appears to be waiting for the Catholics to alter their position before it looks squarely at the issue. The newspapers and television eagerly report in detail each halting step towards a revised Catholic policy, but a bold editorial stand for birth control would offend too many readers. The nation's editors can only hope that Rome will spare them further misery by changing its views. In the meantime a full discussion of one of the most serious questions of our time must wait.

There is no doubt that Catholicism makes good copy. One member of that faith, the Rev. Andrew Greeley, writing in *The Reporter*, puts the points succinctly: "Catholicism is a fascinating subject; indeed, one might almost think it had been designed with Technicolor and wide screen in mind."

But the news media's fascination with the Roman Catholic Church has not only made it an uncritical observer of that faith, but has also caused it to ignore the fact that there are a few other religions around.

The average American knows little about Moslems except that they don't like Jews. They hate Israel and Israel, one learns from American news sources, is a Very Good Thing. The press is not so enthusiastic about the American Jewish community, except during Brotherhood week. After all, some of the readers may be anti-Semitic. Israel is another thing; far-off and not trying to join the tennis club.

Again, until the Vietnamese suicides began taking place, Jack Karouac was the only Buddhist most Americans knew.

And the broad range of Protestant religions force their way into print only through extreme outspokenness, or by appearing in the Saturday afternoon church shopper's guide used by many papers to fill the gap left by the lack of weekend ads. There are, as always, exceptions. A new Episcopal Bishop made the front page, but the headlines told why: EX-MARINE ORDAINED.

While Cardinals Cushing and Spellman are indeed important men, it does not seem too much to ask that a few other members of the clergy be heard from occasionally on the front pages of the nation's dailies.

The press is, in its coverage of religion, as in its coverages of other matters, dazzled by spectacle, drama, size, and philosophies that can be easily understood. The Roman Catholic Church wins on all counts. It's not by chance that the question in 1960: "Can we afford to have a Catholic on the national ticket?" become this question in 1964: "Can we afford not to have a Catholic?" For thanks to the press, to papal blessings by Telstar, to holy pilgrimages filling the front pages, to detailed reportage of Vatican pronouncements, to treatment of the Ecumenical Council as the next best thing to a national political convention, we have become, whatever our individual church membership cards might read, a nation of Catholic fellow-travelers. Ecumenism is not for the future. It is here, borne to us not by the wings of the spirit, but on the sturdy back of publicity.

BOOK REVIEW

L.L.BEAN CATALOG, L.L. Bean, Freeport, Me.; 100 pages illus.

The L. L. Bean Catalog has become an advertising curiosity and, unfortunately, not an advertising standard. Mr. Bean, whose personality and philosophy trickles onto every page, has an unusual attitude about both his hunting and fishing products and the manner in which he goes about selling them.

An elderly gentleman, who has been hunting since he was 16 years old, he has a passionate concern for quality. There is hardly a problem an outdoorsman faces that Mr. Bean hasn't run into at one time or another. His customers are hunters and fishermen who will, soon after purchasing their favorite items from the catalog, take to the woods and streams

to test for themselves Mr. Bean's products. When one goes into the Maine wilds, "modern styling," "decorator colors," and other favorite cliches of the modern advertising man, quickly pale if the knife doesn't cut or the compass doesn't point north.

Planned obsolescence is not part of the Bean philosophy. At the top of page 33, he sternly warns: "We wish to call your attention to the fact that throwing away a pair of used Maine Hunting Shoes is about the same as throwing away a five dollar bill."

He calls upon his customers to send in their old shoes so that they may be rebuilt. It is hard to imagine General Motors making similar demands upon the owners of last year's model.

Mr. Bean does not pamper his clients. In the case of the old Maine Hunting Shoes, for example, he directs them to clean the shoes and remove laces and innersoles before mailing.

The highly successful Bean enterprise operates out of a salesroom and factory in Freeport, Me. The salesroom is open 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. Because of the entrenched position of Bean in Maine tradition, his firm has even survived state blue laws that force lesser establishments to close on Sunday.

While success often brings new showrooms opened with hoopla and cut ribbons, Mr. Bean has been content to make improvements on his Freeport offices. Once customers walked through the factory up several flights of stairs before they got a look at any finished products. Today the factory has been by-passed, although a healthy climb is still required before the salesroom is reached.

The main medium through which the fame of Bean is spread is the free catalog, which comes out in several editions during the year.

The catalog differs from companion publications in this country in a number of respects. It is not just a sales brochure, but a careful blending of advertising, useful instructions, Bean autobiography and philosophy. The language is unaffected and direct. Mr. Bean is one of a rare breed: an

advertising man who doesn't feel that he can improve the English language each day by inventing new words or giving new meanings to old words.

This is not to say that Mr. Bean is unenthusiastic about his products. He is proud of them and expresses this pleasure in a succinct, natural fashion. Speaking of his "Tomahawk Tool," Bean writes: "A real heavy duty tool that will do a lot of work."

The trials of a store operator are frankly revealed: "After looking over dozens of compasses we picked the hunter case as being the most practical style but it had the same fault of all high grade compasses. The dial was all cluttered up with figures, lines and ornaments. We therefore had a very plain dial made to our own idea as shown."

The catalog is sensitive to many of the little problems that plague those who hunt and fish. One folding chair advertised has, the catalog points out, cross bar legs to prevent it from sinking into soft sand. A spinning bug lure has its wings close to the body so the fish won't snap at the wings and miss the hook. A duffle bag has a zipper on the side because "with most duffle bags it is necessary to dump all the contents to find a pair of stockings or a box of shells."

The catalog encourages thrift. The low price of Bean's Leather Case is possible, we are told, "by using pieces of leather not large enough for our Maine Hunting Shoe."

There is useful advice as well:

"To get the full life from any fish line it should be dried after use."

"When strike comes lift butt of rod straight up."

"Use a gut hook with common angle worms and let out 25 to 50 yards of line. If this doesn't get you down deep enough use larger spinner or put on sinker."

We believe this catalog should not only be in every hunter's bookshelf, but be required reading in every freshman English class and every office on Madison Avenue.

We keep our copy handy. When the commercials on television become oppressive, we switch off the set and

flip to page 38, where waits a masterpiece of understated salesmanship:

"While it is impossible to find a knife that is 100% perfect for all purposes, we think this knife comes nearest to anything on the market. The single 3½" blade is O.K. for skinning and general work."

The number of knives Mr. Bean has sold over the years is adequate rebuttal of the common assumption that one must exaggerate to sell. Mr. Bean has built his multi-million dollar enterprise by improving the hardware and ignoring the hyperbole.

NO RECORD

One of the troubles with being in Congress too long is that you start to believe things like "The Senate is the greatest deliberative body in the world." President Johnson spent a good many years in Congress and, as a result, has a somewhat Capitol Hill-centric view of life.

Last summer he started off a news conference with this comment:

"With the passage of the Foreign Assistance Appropriation Bill on July 1, the House of Representatives completed its work on the regular 1965 Appropriation Bills — all of them. I want to express my appreciation and that of the nation for the efficiency and the speed with which the House acted upon the 1965 Budget. Not in four years has the House completed its work on the regular money bills as early as the first day of the new fiscal year."

Which is all a little like giving a railroad engineer a tribute for having left Washington by the time he was meant to be in New York.

If Congress fails, as it has been doing consistently, to pass appropriation bills by the start of the fiscal year, the federal government must operate on the basis of continuing resolutions. These resolutions tell the government that it may continue to spend at the same rate it was spending during the past year, but not a penny more.

As Senator Joseph Clark points out: "The administrative results are serious. Authorized expanded pro-

grams cannot move forward. Newly authorized programs cannot be started. Efficient executive advance planning is impossible. But the Establishment couldn't care less."

The Congressional Establishment, not content merely to be snail-slow and inefficient within the confines of the Capitol, foists these same characteristics on the executive branch by its failure to deal with appropriation bills on time. Uncertainty spreads throughout the government and it seems that every discussion of every project must begin with: "If Congress approves . . ."

There is one curious side-effect of this dawdling over appropriations, which Senator Clark noted in his book, *Congress: The Sapless Branch*. As long as the government operates under a continuing resolution, expenditures are kept to the level of the previous fiscal year. This delights Congressional Scrooges and in no way encourages them to get on with the business at hand.

A good example of this occurred in the summer and fall of 1963. The government acted under continuing resolutions for almost six months. Thus, Congress saved one-half the difference between the total appropriations for the two fiscal years.

This may seem commendable until one realizes that there is another way for Congress to keep expenditures down. That is to debate and vote on the matter. If it is the will of the Congress not to spend the money, it won't be spent.

Found another good reason to stay away from New York City. We saw an ad in the *New York Times*, placed by Granson's Restaurant, which read:
EXTRA TASTY SLIMMING SALAD

"Heaping portions of pineapple, peach, grapefruit, orange and melon stacked on cottage cheese, jello and sherbert, resting on a foundation of crisp lettuce."

What got us shook was the foundation of crisp lettuce one needs to purchase this slim meal. The price, *a la carte*: \$2.35.

THE CONSERVATION OF A CONSERVATIVE

By Senator J. W. Fulbright*

The Republican candidate for President of the United States is an honorable man, a man of proven integrity, a man who can be counted upon to follow unflinchingly the dictates of his conscience even though it sometimes dictates things that even he must find alarming. The Republican candidate is also, by his own declaration, a "conservative," which means, according to Noah Webster's dictionary, one who favors the conservation of existing institutions and forms of government, is opposed to change or innovation, and adheres to principles believed to involve little risk.

A peculiar problem arises from the fact that while Senator Goldwater is himself of conservative disposition, his conscience clearly is not. It is, in fact, an unruly conscience, demanding intermittently that we break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, or that we impose a Western proctorate on the newly independent peoples of Africa, or that we balance the Federal budget while at the same time abolishing the graduated income tax and sawing off the eastern seaboard—with all its valuable tax money—and letting it float out to sea.

Clearly, the Republican candidate's conscience could inspire some radical and risky changes in our national life—changes which Senator Goldwater himself, being a conservative, could hardly be expected to welcome. But being a man of principle as well, he would be powerless to prevent the upheavals which his moral convictions might demand. Where his conscience leads him, there this great conservative must go, though it leads him—as seems quite probable—to the end of the earth.

The peculiar problem which this raises for Senator Goldwater is how to reconcile his conservative instincts with his ungovernable conscience. The

*Speech delivered before U.S. Senate

peculiar problem which this situation raises for the American people is how to conserve themselves—and the Republican candidate as well — from some of the more explosive possibilities of government by the Goldwater conscience.



The Senator from Arkansas

There is in fact a way, but before suggesting what it might be, it may be worthwhile to explore further the interesting contrast between the Republican candidate's "conservative" philosophy and some of his more spectacular convictions about the foreign and domestic policies of the United States. The contrast is rather striking and no less striking are some of the prescriptions offered by the Senator for dealing with the Nation's problems. Building on the premise that the American people are confronted with two great dangers, a terrifying menace from Moscow and an even more terrifying menace from Washington, Senator Goldwater has devised a "conservative" program which combines daring adventure abroad with dynamic and deliberate inaction at home.

Let us consider first the Republican candidate's views on foreign policy.

The central proposition of the conservative foreign policy envisaged by Senator Goldwater is that peace and freedom can only be secured by a policy of total victory over communism—preferably, but not necessarily, by peaceful means. The conflict being one between total virtue—us—and total



The Senator from Arizona

evil—them—it is not readily susceptible to compromise. It is a struggle, says the Senator, "between godless people and the people of God," "between slavery and freedom." And he adds:

I claim that we cannot live with these philosophies in the world forever. Sometime there'll be only one.

What the Republican nominee is getting at, in plain old cowpoke language, is that sooner or later one side or the other is going to have to bite the dust. Why? Anybody who has seen a good old Gary Cooper movie knows why. Who ever heard of cowboys coexisting with Indians? Who ever heard of Wyatt Earp coexisting with Jesse James?

Senator Goldwater says:

Our effort calls for a basic commitment in the name of victory which says we will never reconcile ourselves to the Communists' possession of power of any kind in any part of the world.

What the Senator seems to be getting at is that we are going to have to wipe every last vestige of communism off the face of the map.

The question naturally arises as to how the Communists are likely to react to so drastic an enterprise. Will they peacefully and amiably submit to our design? Perhaps not amiably, in Senator Goldwater's view, but he does feel confident that they will submit if only we are firm. To this end, the Republican nominee proudly proposes a policy of bringmanship. He was recently asked by a German interviewer:

But would you go to the brink of war?

He replied:

Yes; just as your country has used brinkmanship down through the years and done so very, very successfully.

I do not wish to quibble over a mere illustration, but it does seem to me that there have been some exceptions to Germany's successful adventures in brinkmanship, notably in 1918 and 1945.

Senator Goldwater himself readily admits that a policy of "brinkmanship" might in fact lead to war. And if it should? The Republican candidate for President says:

Our job, first and foremost, is to persuade the enemy that we would rather follow the world to Kingdom Come than to consign it to Hell under communism.

My own view, which I believe is the view of a majority of the American people, is that between the extremes of communism and "Kingdom Come" there are a number of less disagreeable possibilities for the world which are worth looking into.

I make this point with some trepidation because I know the Senator does not take kindly to those who do not share his convictions about "total victory" and "Kingdom Come" and other such matters. He wrote a few years ago:

If an enemy power is bent on conquering you, and proposes to turn all of his resources to that end, he is at war with you; and you—unless you contemplate surrender—are at war with him. Moreover—unless you contemplate treason—your objective, like his, will be victory. Not peace, but victory.

The casual reader might infer from these words that Senator Goldwater regards those who are working for peace between the Communist and the free nations as being engaged in a form of treason. Knowing him to be a patient and tolerant man, I feel sure that such an interpretation is unfounded and that it is his natural exuberance rather than any calculated intent that leads him to such forceful expressions.

Over the past few years Senator Goldwater and I have had a periodic exchange of views about some of the basic questions relating to war and peace and victory and coexistence. At one point I asked the Senator what he thought we might do with a "total victory" once it had been won, how

he proposed to deal with a billion inhabitants of the Communist world once they had been liberated. Senator Goldwater assured me that it would not be necessary to occupy the Soviet Union and Communist China, because, as he explained:

The vast majority of the people in both of these countries are not Communists. They will—

He went on—

with proper guidance, take care of their own freedom once they are released from the iron grip of Communist dictatorship.

Who would have thought it? Just a little "proper guidance" here and there and the vast Russian nation, which has been caught up in a struggle with autocracy for 1,000 years, and the vaster Chinese nation, with an even longer history of autocracy and with its 60 million souls living on the brink of starvation, will miraculously shape up, cast off the chains of tyranny, become happy and prosperous democracies—with constitutions modeled on our own, of course—and put a stop to all their troublesome and downright un-American behavior.

How is this millennium to be achieved? The Republican candidate for President of the United States did not get to where he is today by unwarily tipping his hand in advance. In the fullness of time—if not of the current campaign—Senator Goldwater will undoubtedly spell out in detail his conservative program for wiping communism off the face of the map by peaceful means. In the meantime he has made known some of the broad policies which he would expect to bring the Communist nations to their knees.

For a start, says the Republican nominee:

We should declare the world Communist movement an outlaw in the community of civilized nations. Accordingly, we should withdraw diplomatic recognition from all Communist governments including that of the Soviet Union, thereby serving notice on the world that we regard such governments as neither legitimate nor permanent.

In addition, Senator Goldwater has asserted:

The possibility of withdrawing recognition of the Soviet Union should be held as a sword over the head of the

Kremlin to be used at a moment most appropriate and most advantageous to the interests of the United States.

The Senator from Arizona is thus firmly on record as advocating both that we withdraw recognition and that we threaten to withdraw recognition from the Soviet Union. Which approach he favors is unclear, but it is very clear that one way or the other, he proposes to confront the Russians with the terrifying menace of a breach in diplomatic relations—a blow which might drive them to a hysterical act of retaliation, such as withdrawing their recognition of the United States, but one which would be far more likely to frighten them into humble submission to our demands.

Another vital step to be taken in the Goldwater strategy for "total victory" over communism is the elimination of the insidious cultural exchange program. Senator Goldwater has pointed out:

The exchange program, in Soviet eyes, is simply another operation in Communist political warfare. The people, the Kremlin sends over here are, to a man, trained agents of Soviet policy.

Is there no end to Communist treachery? Are they satisfied to use ordinary espionage agents to probe our secrets, as we know they do? No, indeed. Taking advantage of the guileless American nature, they have infiltrated our free society with secret agents cleverly disguised as broad-jumpers and ballerinas. This, of course, is common knowledge to students of Ian Fleming, but for the rest of us only the timely warning of Senator Goldwater has awakened us to the menace of pretty young Russians in dancing shoes. Let us hope it is not too late.

These are only a few of the elements in the Republican candidate's "conservative" program for victory over communism. In addition, the Senator is on record as advocating such prudent measures as the following: fomenting rebellion and assisting underground movements—assuming we can find any—in Communist countries—"Conscience of a Conservative," pages 123-125; dropping low-yield atomic bombs on Chinese

supply lines in North Vietnam or at any rate shelling them with the 7th Fleet—quoted in Newsweek, May 20, 1963; withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations—speech at Phoenix, Ariz., December 20, 1961, and—at the same time apparently—staying in the U.N. but doing something to "improve" it—answer to a question at "Meredith, N.H., January 24, 1964; putting the continent of Africa, or part of it—the Senator does not specify—under something called an "interim African protectorate" administered by an association of Western nations—"Why Not Victory?"

These are some of the steps to be taken under the Goldwater strategy for "total victory." In due course the Senator will undoubtedly spell out the meaning and the purpose of the triumph he proposes to achieve. In the meantime, I cannot help but think of the lines of Robert Southey:

And everybody praised the Duke,
Who this great fight did win.
"But what good came of it at last?"
Quoth little Peterkin.
"Why, that I cannot tell," said he;
"But 'twas a famous victory."

Grave as is the menace of communism, the American people are confronted with an even more formidable enemy in their own Federal Government. Senator Goldwater has stressed this point repeatedly. He has said:

The United States is in more danger from within than from any threat posed by Soviet Russia.

And in one of his books the Senator writes:

Our defenses against the accumulation of unlimited power in Washington are in poorer shape, I fear, than our defenses against the aggressive designs of Moscow.

To cope with the monstrous menace of the freely elected government prescribed by the American Constitution, the Republican nominee has devised a dynamic program of organized inactivity, one which will once and for all drive the Government out of the business of government. Such a program, he believes, is mandatory under our Constitution.

In the nominee's words:

The Government must begin to withdraw from a whole series of programs

which are outside its constitutional mandate—from social welfare programs, education, public power, agriculture, public housing, urban renewal and all the other activities that can be better performed by lower levels of government or by private institutions or by individuals.

Senator Goldwater has also declared:

I have little interest in streamlining Government or making it more efficient, for I mean to reduce its size. I do not undertake to promote welfare, for I propose to extend freedom. My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them.

The basic premise of the Goldwater domestic program is that human welfare is incompatible with freedom and that total self-reliance is the most blessed condition in which a man can find himself even if its price, as is often the case, is misery and ignorance. The task of government, therefore, is to determine carefully all that it can possibly do for people and then to abstain vigorously from doing it.

Let us consider some of the major policies—or, to be more precise, non-policies — to be pursued under the Goldwater program of dynamic inactivity.

In the field of executive-legislative relations the key idea seems to be that the President should turn over many of his powers to the Congress, which should then diligently refrain from exercising them.

Senator Goldwater has declared:

I feel very strongly that the executive branch has taken too much power from the legislative branch.

Reporting on the work of the Congress some months ago, the Senator told his constituents:

Not much is going on back there. I don't think that's worrisome. It's not what legislators do that helps, it's what they don't do.

I am reminded of the inspiring words uttered by Calvin Coolidge some 40 years ago when he was confronted with a grave crisis in agriculture. He declared:

Farmers never made much money. I don't think there is much we can do about it.

Unlike President Coolidge, Senator Goldwater does propose to do something about the problem of agricultural surpluses. In his own words:

Doing something about it means—and

there can be no equivocation here — prompt and final termination of the farm subsidy program.

The agricultural depression which this would lead to — quite possibly followed by a national depression — is just one of those little inconveniences that the Republican candidate considers a small price to pay for "freedom" from Government regulation. Clearly, what he proposes to do about the farm problem is to change it from a problem to a catastrophe.

Another area in which Senator Goldwater has blazed a new trail is in awakening us to certain prevalent myths about public education. He assures us, for example, that the millions of American children crowded into packed classrooms in ancient, run-down school buildings everywhere from the great cities of the north to the rural areas of the south and west are in fact figments of our national imagination. He tells us:

The need for Federal funds for public schools, has never been convincingly demonstrated.

A few years ago Senator Goldwater declared in the Senate:

One of the greatest myths current in this country is the supposition that our primary education system is being starved, or at least that the Federal Government or the public has been stingy or neglectful in supporting the education of our children, and that our educational system is badly undernourished.

Having assured us that the evidence before our eyes is a "myth," the leader of the Republican Party goes on to make the point that Federal aid to education is not only unnecessary but wicked. Like all other programs that might do people some good, it threatens to debase and enslave us. In addition to being "unconstitutional" — "Conscience of a Conservative," page 9—which goes without saying—he has written:

Federal aid to education is exposed as an act of naked compulsion—a decision by the Federal Government to force the people of the States to spend more money than they choose to spend for this purpose voluntarily.

The Senator is absolutely right and the only criticism that can be made of his position on education is that he is unduly modest in failing to carry it through to its logical conclusion. Fed-

eral aid to education is indeed a form of a compulsion and so also, for that matter, are State and local taxation for financing education. Finally and above all, what could be more cruel and arbitrary than compulsory education itself? How many American youngsters are spending their days in stuffy schoolrooms of their own free will? How many of them would not rather be out playing baseball or going fishing or just fooling around? Not many—you can put your money on that. The fact of the matter is that **public education itself is a giant conspiracy of parents and of Federal, State, and local governments to enslave the helpless children of America.**

When freedom is endangered, something must be done. What is needed is nothing less than a constitutional amendment to make the Goldwater philosophy of education the supreme law of the land. Such an amendment, I would think, should contain three basic provisions: first, the Federal Government is prohibited henceforth and forever from expending any funds for any purpose which is educational in content, form or implication; second, no State shall levy any tax for public education on any citizen without the individual citizen's consent freely given in writing; third, no American citizen, most especially any citizen between the ages of 5 and 18, shall be required to attend any educational institution without his consent freely given in writing, or, in the absence of the ability to write, by some clearly identifiable mark.

In addition to constitutional considerations one suspects an additional factor in the Goldwater views on education. The Senator is reported to have said once that if he had remained in college for 4 years he might have been a liberal—Washington Daily News, March 28, 1962. Can it be that the Republican nominee perceives a relationship between education and what he calls "liberalism" or, conversely, between the lack of education and his own unique philosophy of "conservatism"?

No less provocative than his opinions on education are the views of

Senator Goldwater on problems of poverty and public welfare.

The Senator, as we know, is a champion of individual self-reliance because self-reliance means responsibility and freedom. As he himself has put it:

When you say to Johnny, "Don't worry about the old man or your mother, we're going to take care of them when they get older," you've destroyed his freedom of responsibility.

The Republican candidate thus makes a devastating case against medical care for the aged under social security and, for that matter, against private health plans as well, which also deny millions of Americans the right to accept financial responsibility for their aging parents.

Senator Goldwater also has reassuring words for us on the general problem of poverty, which he believes has agitated us unduly. He said recently:

As our production and income levels have moved up over a hundred years, our concepts of what is poor have moved up also—and they always will—you can never catch up. There will always be a lowest one-third or one-fifth.

Instead of wasting our time trying to do something about poverty, Senator Goldwater recommends that we mount what he calls "a frontal attack against Santa Claus—the Santa Claus of the free lunch, the Government handout—or something-for-nothing and something-for-everyone"—speech to the Economic Club of New York, January 15, 1964.

One must not infer from this interesting choice of words that the Republican candidate really wants to launch a war against Santa Claus, Christian charity, and the Christmas spirit. It is merely his exuberant way of saying the Federal Government should not assume responsibility for old-age pensions, unemployment compensation, or any other direct assistance to our citizens no matter how dire their need.

Indeed if there is anything to be criticized in Senator Goldwater's attitude toward the needy and unfortunate in our society, it is a tendency toward excessive sentimentality. Take, for example, his kindly view in the controversy of a few years ago over

thé welfare policies of Newburgh, N.Y., when he declared:

I don't like to see my taxes paid for children born out of wedlock.

Or consider the Senator's tender-hearted observation on the problem of unemployment due to lack of skills. He said:

The fact is that most people who have no skill have no education for the same reason—low intelligence or low ambition.

Permeating the social philosophy of the Republican presidential candidate is a deep faith in a benevolent law of nature. The poor are poor, in his view, because they have earned their fate and their misery is nothing more than nature's just punishment for the sins of "low intelligence" and "low ambition." Nor, according to Senator Goldwater, are the privileged and powerful in our society selected by mere chance: they are the products, it would seem, of a natural evolution, the worthy recipients of nature's favor for reasons of energy, initiative, intelligence and skill and, quite often, shrewd judgment in selection of their parents. Thus the heart and core of the Goldwater social philosophy is the abandonment of organized efforts to shape the life of our society and return to nature—to the natural state in which the fortunate will be left to their blessings and the poor will be left to their wretchedness, all in a state of undiluted freedom.

These, I believe, are some of the major elements in the political philosophy of the Republican candidate for President of the United States. Although the candidate, by his own definition, is a "conservative," his program, if implemented, would bring about great upheavals in our country and in the world. The paradox, as I have suggested, is the product of a striking disparity between Senator Goldwater's conservative instincts and his totally ungovernable conscience.

The great question before the Nation in this election campaign is how to conserve the traditional values and institutions of our country from the revolutionary impact of the Goldwater conscience. The nominee's personal problem, of course, is to seek some

way of reconciling his conservative instincts with his unpredictable conscience. These problems can be resolved by the American people in November, and in only one way: by sparing the Republican candidate of having to try to effect so hopeless a reconciliation.

There are those who maintain that the problem is not real, that Senator Goldwater's radical proposals on foreign and domestic policy are not deeply held convictions at all but merely political extravagances which would quickly give way to a more conventional view of the world under the sobering experience of Presidential power. They do the Senator a grave injustice. My own opinion is that the leader of the Republican Party is a true idealist and a true believer, a man of conviction and assurance, a man in fact whom no amount of evidence or experience could dissuade from his cherished views and principles.

I am reminded just a little of Shakespeare's famous lines:
 But man, proud man,
 Drest in a little brief authority,
 Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
 His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
 Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
 As make the angels weep.

THEY'RE GOOD

On one of the other pages of this issue you'll find an ad for some paintings. We have a somewhat ambivalent feeling about this ad, because the paintings, by Philadelphia artist Roland Cosgrove, have enhanced our office considerably and we'll be sorry to see them go.

Nonetheless, you can see this interesting collection of oils at THE IDLER office by appointment. The paintings are moderately priced (\$55-\$75) and include a variety of subjects.

We think you'll like them. They're good.

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 TURN TO PAGE 16

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CAPTAIN STANLEY LORD

IN THE TITANIC DISASTER WAS HE VILLAIN OR VICTIM?

By ISHMAEL

On April 14, 1912, the handsome British liner *Titanic* struck an iceberg. As a result, she sank and 1500 persons lost their lives.

Prior to the sinking a vessel was sighted from the *Titanic* at a distance estimated to be between 5 and 6 miles. The *Titanic*, in those desperate last minutes, signalled the possible savior. But there was no response and the Fourth Officer of the *Titanic* later testified: "She turned round very slowly, until at last I only saw her stern light . . ."

The steamer *Californian* was in an icefield somewhere north of the *Titanic* during this period. She too had seen the lights of another vessel and had been watching them for some time. Flares were also noticed but discounted as probably being the signals sometimes used by liners to identify themselves.

The *Californian* did not go to the aid of the *Titanic*'s survivors until the next morning, when she received word by radio of the sinking.

When these facts became known, a loose noose of circumstantial evidence fell around the neck of the *Californian*'s commanding officer, Captain Stanley Lord. He came to the subsequent court of inquiry only as a witness, but left relieved of his command and forced out of the employ of his company. The court had drawn the noose taut:

"The ice by which the *Californian* was surrounded was loose ice extending for a distance of not more than two or three miles in the direction of the *Titanic*. The night was clear and the sea was smooth. When she first saw the rockets the *Californian* could have pushed through the ice to the open water without any serious risk and so have come to the assistance of the *Titanic*. Had she done so, she might have saved many if not all of the lives that were lost."

Captain Lord firmly maintained that the vessel spotted from the *Californian* could not have been the

Titanic. He tried to get his case reviewed several times in the following years, but to no avail.

It was not long before World War I broke out and the *Titanic* disaster faded into history. When peace came, Captain Lord, who had spent the war years at sea, found little difficulty in continuing his career in the merchant marine.

He let the *Titanic* affair drop. Although there were growing volumes of literature on the subject, he did not read them, and by 1927 ill health forced Captain Lord into retirement. His memory of the *Titanic* might have retired also, had it not been for the publication of a new book *A Night to Remember* published in 1956 and a subsequent film of the same name.

The movie, in particular, cast the *Californian* and Captain Lord in a critical light for the failure to respond to the distress signals of the *Titanic*. The aging Captain Lord read reports of the film's implications and in his final years renewed his efforts to clear his name. He appealed to the Mercantile Marine Service Association, an organization of British shipmasters, for assistance. The MMSA's General Secretary, Leslie Harrison, took considerable interest in the matter and led a still-continuing effort to get the case reviewed by both English and American officials in order to remove censure of Captain Lord from the public record. The *Californian*'s master died in 1962, confident that he eventually would be vindicated.

There seems little doubt that, if the case were to be formally reopened today, the conclusions drawn would be quite different from those reached by the original court of inquiry.

For one thing, the court proceeded in a dubious manner. Captain Lord had been told that he was to appear as a witness but found instead that he was among the accused. He did not have an opportunity to prepare an adequate defense and he was improperly represented.

Then there is relevant evidence—some of it available at the time and more available now—that makes it

SCENE OF THE TITANIC SINKING

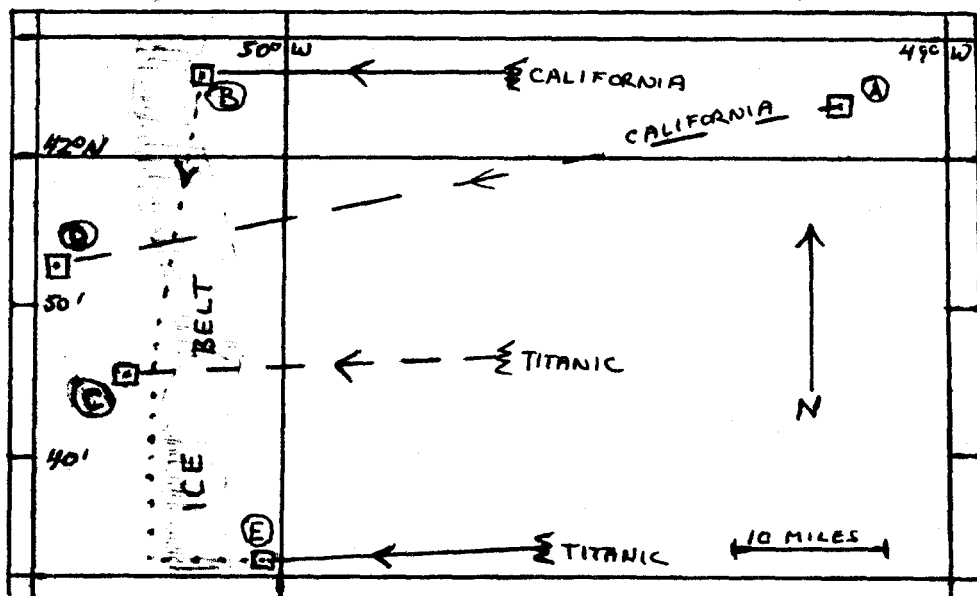


Chart shows area in which the sinking of the *Titanic* occurred, and illustrates the facts in dispute concerning the role of steamer *Californian*.

POINT A indicates the *Californian's* estimated position at 6:30 p.m. the evening of the disaster. This position is confirmed by the *Californian* having sighted three icebergs observed and plotted earlier by another vessel. The positions of the bergs separately sighted (to the south of point A) were within four miles of each other.

POINT B indicates the *Californian's* estimated position at 10:21 p.m. on the edge of an ice belt that prevented her further movement to the west. The course she had steered from point A was due west and her speed had been 11.6 kts.

POINT C is the spot where the Court said the *Titanic* collided with an iceberg and sank. It will be noted that other evidence points to the existence of an ice belt east of this point and that the *Titanic*, which had been steaming at a fast 22 knots, would have had to pass through this entire belt before colliding with the iceberg.

POINT D is where the *Californian* would have been if the ship she had seen ten miles to the southeast at 11:50 p.m. had actually been the *Titanic*. In order to have sailed from Point A to Point D in the required amount of time, the *Californian* would have had to do three things there is no evidence she did.

1. She would have had to have steered at least ten degrees to the left of her course.

2. She would have had to cruise at 14.7 knots, or 3.1 knots over the speed she believed herself to be travelling.

3. She would have had to pass completely through the icebelt. In fact, she stopped when she came to the edge of it.

POINT E is where the *Titanic's* survivors were picked up by rescue vessels. Though she had radioed her position as being at point C, the *Californian*, other vessels in the area all proceeded to point E and found no wreckage or survivors. The *Titanic's* remains were found on the other side of the ice belt at Point E. It is apparent that the *Titanic's* reported position, the one accepted by the Court, was in error. Thus, at the time the *Californian* sighted a vessel to the southeast the *Titanic* was not five to ten miles away, but closer to thirty, well beyond the range of visibility. The *Californian* could not have seen the *Titanic* and the *Titanic* could not have seen the *Californian*.

doubtful that the *Californian* ever sighted the *Titanic* or *vice versa*.

The Navigational Evidence

The chart indicates the situation during the hours before and after the sinking of the *Titanic*. Examination of the chart alone, based on one that appeared in the Merchant Navy Journal, raises grave doubts that the *Californian* could have seen the *Titanic* after the collision or been seen by the stricken vessel.

The Matter of the Flares

Much of the criticism of Captain Lord centered on the fact that the *Californian* had seen white rockets coming from the vessel they were watching and failed to take action upon them. The *Californian* did, in fact, try to make contact with the other ship through the use of a flashing light, but the ship did not respond. She slowly turned and moved away from the *Californian*, hardly the action of a vessel in distress.

The meaning of the rockets seen by the *Californian* has never been established. If they were not the *Titanic's* distress flares what were they? According to Captain Alec Kane, a contemporary mariner, the argument by the *Californian's* Second Officer that he took them for private signals of a steamship company had merit. Said Kane in a recent interview:

"Everybody knows that in those days firing of rockets was a practice among merchant seamen. All the Atlantic shipping lines had rockets of their own to identify themselves by sea. They used to say two liners passing in the Atlantic could only recognize each other if these rockets were fired."

Lord himself offered another explanation. He noted in his testimony to the Court that a good many steamers did not carry lights for flashing Morse code. He suggested that the other vessel might have been answering the *Californian's* signals.

I have recently received a letter from Leslie Harrison suggesting still another possibility. Mr. Harrison suggests that the unknown vessel saw the *Titanic's* signals and was firing her

own flares to indicate that she was on her way to investigate.

In any case, the fact that these rockets were not the *Titanic's* is almost assured by the fact that the *Titanic* used explosive signals that make a loud noise like gunfire. The rockets seen by the *Californian* made no noise.

It also appears that these rockets were fired a time different from those sent up by the *Titanic*.

The primary reason the *Californian* did not investigate the signals was that the vessel turned and moved away. If she had been a vessel in distress it is not likely that she would have avoided a rescuer so near. And if she had been the *Titanic*, she would not have been seen to move at all, and certainly not two hours after hitting the iceberg.

The Matter of Timing

It is important to note that both the *Californian* and the *Titanic* were keeping careful lookout watches. And yet the *Californian* first saw the unidentified vessel to the south two hours before the *Titanic* observed any ship in the area. If the *Titanic* had seen the *Californian* it is most probable that she would first observe her before the *Californian* saw her as her lookouts and watchkeeping officers were located at a much great height than those of the *Californian*. Further the *Titanic* was steaming at 22 knots through an area known to have ice while the *Californian* was stopped in an icefield. Surely the *Titanic's* lookout watch would be expected to have been tauter than that of the *Californian*. In any event the discrepancy of two hours in the time of sightings cannot be adequately explained unless one assumes that the two vessels did not see each other.

It is apparent that, actually, two pairs of vessels must have been involved.

Other evidence confirms this. The ship seen by the *Californian* turned away after firing the rockets. This could not have been the *Titanic*. She had struck an iceberg and was sinking, dead in the water.

The ship seen by the *Titanic* turned away also. This could not have been the *Californian*. Her engines were completely stopped from 10:21 p.m. until 6 a.m. the next morning, as she sat surrounded by ice.

Big Break

In the end, exoneration of Captain Lord could only come through positive identification of the vessels sighted by the *Titanic* and the *Californian*, for if Captain Lord's position was correct, if he had been victimized by a strange series of coincidences, the answer must lie with two mystery ships seen but unknown.

Exactly fifty years after the *Titanic* disaster, in April 1962, Captain Lord got the biggest break in his favor.

A confidential report, filed by the first officer of the Norwegian sealing vessel *Samson* in April 1912, with the Norwegian consul in Iceland, was released. This report stated that on the *Titanic*'s last night, the *Samson* was operating in the Newfoundland area. First Officer Henrik Naess sighted "two big stars" to the south which he thought had a "peculiar position."

According to a recent report: "He instructed the masthead lookout to study them through binoculars, and received a report that they were not stars, but 'lanterns and a lot of lights'." A few moments later, several rockets were seen and shortly afterwards all the lights suddenly disappeared. Mr. Naess' report continues:—

"The *Samson*'s position was such that it was feared that we might be taken for violating territorial borders, and the lights out there meant that here were Americans in the neighbourhood. When the lights went out this probably meant that we had been observed, the rockets being, maybe, signals to other ships. We therefore changed course and hurried northwards. When dawn came, there was no sign of ships anywhere."

"After the ship's arrival in Iceland, Mr. Naess learned from a newspaper of the *Titanic* disaster. From the *Samson*'s log, he checked that both time, date and position of the disaster coincided with their own observations.

His report concludes: 'We now understood the meaning of the lights and rockets we had seen. We had been ten nautical miles away when the *Titanic* went down. There we were, with our big excellent ship and eight boats in calm, excellent weather. What might we not have done, if we had known? Alas, we had no radio on board.'

It was the most convincing vindication of Captain Lord that had come to light in a half-century. But the aged mariner knew nothing about it. He died three months before the report was made public.

History can be cruel. Once it has branded its villains the mark is not easily lost. Today, official British and American records still cast Captain Lord as one of the villains of the *Titanic* disaster, a fact that permits sensationalistic writers to pen copy like that which appeared in an American trash magazine in 1958: "Add to the list of seaborne murderers the name of Captain John (sic) Lord, master of the steamship *Californian*."

There are questions unanswered. Through dogged research of the type already conducted by the Mercantile Marine Service Association and Leslie Harrison, some day the vessel seen by the *Californian* may be positively identified.

There are still questions to be answered and mysteries to be unravelled. Some ask: why bother? For Leslie Harrison it is an unfulfilled personal obligation to Captain Lord. For others it may be simply a desire to avoid giving credence to Henry Ford's rule that "history is bunk."

As part of their campaign publicity prior to the GOP convention, the Goldwater people handed out some attractive matchbooks with a slogan on them. On the back was another notation: "Made in Sweden."

And we thought, listening to Eisenhower and others, that everyone in Sweden was busy committing suicide because of all that socialism. Seems like there were a few Swedes healthy and enterprising enough to sell conservative Americans matchbooks to aid them in their fight against socialism.



**"ASK
UNCLE
ABNER"**

Dear Uncle Abner:

Last month, you mentioned a friend who made real good cider. How did he do it?

E. T. G.

Patience, mainly. He said he threw in a few crab-apples to "spice it up," but most of the spice came from letting it sit around long enough. To try to answer your question better, I sent away for one of them government publications and, would you believe it, it wasted a good few hundred words telling how to prevent fermentation. How are they going to land a man on the moon, if government scientists don't even know what's cider for?

Dear Uncle Abner:

What did you think about Walter Cronkite not being the anchor man in CBS's coverage of the Democratic Convention?

R. B. T.

Well, I guess Fred Friendly knows something about ratings and news but he don't know a damn about anchors. Read where he said they got rid of Cronkite because "a dual anchor arrangement provides more flexibility, mobility and diversity of coverage."

Now that's the first time I ever hear of anyone using an anchor arrangement of any kind for flexibility and mobility. If your anchor gives you flexibility and mobility, you better try dropping it someplace else.

Dear Uncle Abner:

Did you go to the World's Fair?

Mrs. W. C. S.

Nope. Went to the last one. They had one of them rigs which lets you look into the future. But, as I recall, they didn't tell me anything 'bout nuclear bombs, the Cold War, or cigarettes giving you cancer. Figure this one wouldn't be much help, either.

The views of Uncle Abner do not necessarily reflect those of The Idler or Uncle Abner's wife. Address your questions and problems to Uncle Abner, 125 5th St. NE, Washington 2, D.C.

Federal Constitutional Convention by Videotape

"This is Chut Butley . . ."

"And Nink Winkley . . ."

"And we're here in the anchor booth high above Philadelphia's Independence Hall, looking down on the delegates from the confederated states trying to hammer together a federal constitution. They've been here since last May and we've been here with them (with a larger share of the nighttime viewing audience than the other two networks combined, isn't that so, Nink?) reporting to you every step of this great drama. Nink—"

"Actually, Chut, it's been getting pretty dull up here. Politicians are not men with much sense of production; they're given to interminable speeches and tedious debates over technical points."

"But the Post-Colonial Broadcasting Company has kept things lively with its fine team of correspondents there on the floor of this, the Federal Constitutional Convention. One of them is Sandy Van Acorn and he's with the New York delegation and Alexander Hamilton. Come in Sandy . . ."

"Right, Chut, I'm down here with Alexander Hamilton, delegate of New York, politician, patriot, and I understand, quite a good pistol shot, isn't that right, Mr. Hamilton . . ."

"Well, I . . ."

"Tell me, Mr. Hamilton, what do you think about the Rhode Island delegation?"

"What about them?"

"Well do you think they'll continue to stay away from this convention?"

"We've been here for about three months and if they haven't come by now I don't expect they will."

"Well, Post-Colonial News has a report that they will stage a dramatic walk-in before this convention is over. Have you heard anything about that?"

"No."

"Mr. Hamilton, what do you think of the differences between the proposed House of Representatives and the Senate?"

"Will not the House of Representative be as much interested as the Senate in maintaining the government in its proper functions?"

"Well, er, I don't really know, Post-Colonial News hasn't taken a poll on that. How about this business that Congress can sort of veto a state's time and manner of selecting national legislators?"

"Well, Sandy, I am greatly mistaken, if there be any article in the whole plan more completely defensible than this. Its propriety rests upon the evidence of this plain proposition, that every government ought to contain in itself the means of its own preservation . . . Every just reasoner will, at first sight . . ."

"Excuse me, Mr. Hamilton, but Nan Dickens, over in the South Carolina delegation, has a story so we're going to switch there."

"This is Nan Dickens in the South Carolina delegation. A very funny thing has happened here. J. Rutledge has just spilt a whole bottle of ink on Pierce Butler and is now, as you can see, trying to correct the situation by blotting Mr. Butler's face with his lace handkerchief. How do you feel, Mr. Butler?"

"/ % ! ? (% \$; %"

"Do you think this incident had political significance, Mr. Rutledge."

"No, really Nan, I promise it was quite an accident."

"Well, Chut and Nink, there was a feeling that a fight might break out here in the South Carolina delegation, but unfortunately nothing happened so maybe we better switch to something else."

"Right, Nan. On the podium now, there's a long discussion going on over the technical question of the relationship between the two proposed houses of Congress, so we're going to the convention floor again and John Candid."

"Nink, I'll be with you in just a moment. This sergeant-at-arms has just had the audacity to ask me to get off James Madison's chair, which I was using to get a better view of these proceedings. Tell me, sir, your badge number and why you wish me to get off this chair?"

"Mainly because Mr. Madison wants to sit there."

"Don't you and Mr. Madison realize that a free press is essential to a democracy?"

"Yes, but Mr. Madison is tired."

"Then why don't you suggest he go home and watch the thing on television? . . . Hey, what's going on here? . . . I'm being carried out of here by two sergeant at arms, obviously the most exciting moment of this convention, and Post-Colonial News was responsible for it. Now back to the anchor booth."

"Well, Nink, we've lost one of our ace correspondents, but we still have Frank MacCaw down there and by his side is none other than the man indirectly responsible for John Candid's removal from the hall and also, we understand, one of the men who has something to do with writing this Constitution: James Madison . . ."

"Yes, here is James Madison. Mr. Madison, our Post-Colonial News computers indicate that there's a serious backlash in the large states against the compromise giving the small states certain powers in the new union. Are you worried about that?"

"Well, I covered that pretty completely in the speech I just gave to the convention."

"Yes, I know, but we were busy covering John Candid's ejection and we try to keep away from those dull speeches as much as possible."

"I don't believe that there will be any particular problem in the . . ."

"I see, now, tell me, Mr. Madison, is this a federal or a national constitution?"

"The proposed Constitution is, in strictness, neither a national nor a federal Constitution but a composition of both. In its foundation it is federal, not national; in the sources from which the ordinary powers of the government are drawn, it is partly federal and partly national in the operation of these powers, it is national, not federal; in the extent of them, again, it is federal not national; and finally in the authoritative mode of introducing amendments, it is neither wholly federal nor wholly national . . ."

"So you decline to say whether this is a national or a federal constitution. Well, that's the way politics is, folks. Now back to Nink and Chut."

"At this moment, Chut, they are about to read the proposed Constitution in full to the delegates and then the signing will take place. This is the high point of the convention, so we'll go again to the podium."

"We the people of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice . . ."

"We switch now outside convention hall for the arrival of Benjamin Franklin. Ray Sure is there."

"A black coach has just come up to the door of Independence Hall and the horses have stopped. The door's opening, there's Benjamin Franklin, the one with the spectacles, he's coming this way, he's only a few feet away . . . Excuse me, Mr. Franklin . . . Do you feel the Rhode Island delegation will stage a dramatic walk-in at this convention?"

"It's late for that, isn't it, Sir?"

"Mr. Franklin, earlier, John Candid of Post-Colonial News was ejected from the hall. Do you think the treat-

ment of the press here has been proper?"

"As a former newspaperman, I sympathize with you, and I would sympathise with you even more if you would get your antenna out of my wig . . . There, thanks . . . Now what were you saying?"

"Do you think this Constitution has any long term implications?"

"Everything seems to promise that it will last; but in this world nothing is certain but death and taxes."

"Mr. Franklin, would you accept high public office in the new union?"

"I shall never ask, never refuse, nor ever resign an office. Now, if you'll excuse me, Sir, I believe that I am late for the proceedings."

"This is Ray Sure outside convention hall."

"Nink, they've only gotten through the second article of this lengthy, boring document . . . and they have five more articles to go."

"Right, Chut, and still no signs of the Rhode Island delegation. That's the only suspense around here now."

"That was a pretty interesting reply Ben Franklin made when asked about running for office. Think he might be our first President, Nink?"

"Might be."

"Let's speculate on that. Have the boys talk to the delegates and see how they would like Franklin for President."

"Right, Chut, we'll be back with that story after a station break."

WE MISSED HIM

We thought we'd be able to give you an up-to-date report on Barry Goldwater's voting record this month, but neither Goldwater nor Congress cooperated.

Congress stayed in session past our deadline and Goldwater hasn't been around Washington much.

We can note, however, that in addition to the votes listed last month, Goldwater was against the Administration's anti-poverty and Medicare measures.

Quite a few other matters were discussed but Goldwater didn't show up to vote. We missed him. He has such a nice way of saying no.

SHORT EDITORIAL

Two Republican babies who may get thrown out with the Goldwater wash in November are Ken Keating and Hugh Scott. This would be too bad.

If the GOP is going to pull itself together after the election, it will need men like Keating and Scott to give a measure of sanity to the operation.



Sen. Scott of Pa.

There's not much need for more Democrats in the Senate unless they can unseat some of those conservatives whose minds still rest in the Paleozoic era.

There is a need, however, for Keating and Scott in the Senate, if the moderates are going to regain control of the Republican Party. We not only don't want Goldwater for President, we don't even want him as the leader of the opposition for four years. Re-electing Keating and Scott, while defeating Goldwater, would help to hurry the Arizonan and his friends on their way to oblivion.

"Newsmen are like blackbirds on a telephone line. When one flies away, they all fly away and when one comes back they all come back."

—Senator Eugene McCarthy

STORM KING MOUNTAIN

"These temple destroyers, devotees of ravaging commercialism, seem to have a perfect contempt for Nature, and, instead of lifting their eyes to the God of the Mountains, lift them to the Almighty Dollar.

"... As well dam for watertanks the people's cathedrals and churches, for no holier temple has ever been consecrated by the heart of man."

Conservationist John Muir wrote those words many decades ago, but the temple destroyers, with their contempt of nature, are busier and more successful than ever.

One of their current leading spokesmen is the Consolidated Edison Company of New York, which has decided the best way to brighten New York City is to darken the face of Storm King Mountain, magnificent guardian of the Hudson. It wishes to build a giant hydro-electric project there, disrupting one of nature's finer bequests to man so that the appetite of the big city's neon signs, office copying machines, traffic lights, television sets, and computers may be satisfied.

Con Edison has sought the approval of the Federal Government to proceed with this operation, and at this writing the Federal Power Commission seems to be tending towards acquiescence. That is where all of us come in.

Storm King Mountain does not belong to Con Edison, New York State, or the Federal Power Commission. It is the indivisible common property of every American as are all such natural monuments throughout the land. The temple raiders are often successful because they operate like guerillas, an attack here, an ambush there, each, superficially just "a local issue." But with each little victory, the whole is diminished and we are the poorer for it.

Con Edison and a FPC examiner assure us that the proposed project will make life more efficient in New York City. We wonder: efficient for what?

Is our final goal the ability to throw an infinite number of switches to light an infinite number of lights and start an infinite number of motors? To us it is a question of whether we need more light in the bathroom or more light for the spirit.

Man's ego convinces him that he can always improve upon nature. More electricity is always better than more trees, streams, or marshes. Nature is the enemy of our new faith and its trinity: Efficiency, Speed and Profit.

Recently, there has been much public concern about riots: Negro riots in Harlem, student riots on Hampton Beach, and debutante riots on Long Island. Those involved have indulged in a sin against the new faith; they destroyed man-made property of man.

A drug store, a beach cabana, and a fashionable estate can be repaired. If the beauty of Storm King Mountain is destroyed we can not simply call up our insurance agent and a carpenter and get it restored.

The estimates for fixing a mountain are too high.

John Muir realized this when he wrote of the giant sequoias:

"... Through all the wonderful, eventful centuries . . . God has cared for these trees, saved them from drought, disease, avalanches, and a thousand straining, leveling tempests and floods; but he can not save them from fools . . ."

He can not save Storm King Mountain from Con Edison, either. But we, with the aid of the government, can.



Earlier in this election year, Senator Scott made a comment that deserves repeating at this time: "Our last, best hope is for an onset of reason and the contagion of intelligence."

MORE ON ZIP CODES

MAINE Letter Carriers Association has placed itself on record in opposition to Mr. Zip. The portrait of the Post Office's prophet of the ZIP Code Age has, according to the MLCA, "relegated and subjected the letter carrier of the nation to the status of a comic strip character unbecoming to and unrepresentative of employees of the United States Government."

NO EXIT

We finally got around to reading a novel written several years ago, *A Different Drummer*, by William Kelley.

The story tells of a mythical southern state in which the Negroes suddenly pack up and leave. One of them explains, "It seems like all the black folks up in Sutton got it into their heads they just won't stand for it no more. It ain't worth fighting because things ain't getting any better."

How his happens and how it affects those involved is a story that Bill Kelley tells in a moving and sometimes beautiful way.

As we were finishing the book, a letter arrived from Biloxi, Miss., written by Rocky Whitman. It told of this summer's Freedom Schools in Mississippi. We published the letter last month.

There was a paragraph that stood out:

"We found, in describing the Harlem riots and the situation on Chicago's South Side, that we were saying that living in Biloxi, even for a Negro, must be considered to be better than living in a Northern urban slum . . . Part of the reason for saying this was to emphasize that there is really no mythical escape any more—north to Chicago or New York—that Negroes can no longer run away, but must stay here and fight to make the South fit to live in."

The real tragedy of Kelley's story lay not within its pages, but beyond them; not in mythical Sutton, but in real Harlem, Jersey City and Rochester.

Tucker Caliban, the first Negro to go, had burned his home and sown rock salt on his land to destroy it. Tucker Caliban and the other Negroes ran away from the land. They believed it evil, but they were wrong. For the twin night-riders of neglect and fear-propelled hate have little concern for state boundaries.

Today, we are learning that the center of human prejudice is not the South, but the human heart. There is a little of Philadelphia, Miss., in each of us. Whether we give in to it, or whether we suppress and replace it with worthier emotions is an issue of our times that none can avoid.

We can not run away from our hearts. We must "stay here and fight" so we will be fit to live with ourselves.

The civil rights movement means much more than equality for Negroes. It means, among other things, that each of us will have to make a basic choice. There are fancy phrases for this, lofty ideals. But we like what white and Southern Harry Leland, in *A Different Drummer*, told his son as he tried to explain why the boy should not use the word "nigger:"

"Listen Harold . . . someday, when you get to be my age, things may not be the same as they is now, and you got to be ready for that, you see? If you're like some of my friends, you won't be able to get on with all kinds of folks. You understand?"

And later:

"Your mama and me is trying to make you a passable human being."

There are nobler achievements that we can bring out of these times, but Harry Leland has given us a good place to start.

Goldwater says he is not opposed to Negro ambitions but believes in leaving these matters to the states. That is like the Roman emperors not being opposed to Christians but leaving them to the lions."

—Roy Wilkins.

Americans on the Move Leave Voting Rights Behind

MILLIONS DISENFRANCHISED

MR. SCHWENGEL SUGGESTS A SOLUTION

(Excerpts from instructive remarks made in the House of Representatives by Representative Fred Schwengel, the Republican from Davenport, Iowa):

Because of the archaic state laws that deal with residency requirements and absentee voting, millions of American citizens are not permitted to cast their ballots and are thereby deprived of the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

Total participation in the electoral process is of the greatest importance. The right of every citizen to participate in the governmental process is an essential feature of our form of government. The political philosophy of the Declaration of Independence is that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and the right to a vote in the selection of officers of government on the part of all citizens is important, not only as a means of insuring that government shall have the strength of popular support, but also as a means of securing to the individual citizen proper consideration of his right by those in power. The disenfranchised can never speak with the same force as those who are able to vote.

Just recently, in the Wesberry case, the U. S. Supreme Court observed that:

"No right is more precious in a free country than that of having a voice in the election of those who make the laws under which, as a good citizen, we must live. Other rights, even the most basic, are illusory if the right to vote is undermined. Our Constitution leaves no room for classification of people in a way that unnecessarily abridges this right."

Unfortunately, throughout this country's history there have been many barriers to full participation of

the populace in the selection of elected officials.

Property and tax paying requirements were a prohibitive factor in vote participation in the early days of this Republic. Soon, however, the inequity of these requirements was recognized and by 1850 these requirements had been largely removed.

Surprisingly enough, residency requirements became more stringent once property requirements were relaxed. The southern states were foremost among the states which adopted more restrictive residency requirements. It was during the last part of the 19th century and during the first decade of the 20th century that most of the southern states revised their constitutions—most often for the expressed purpose of disenfranchising the Negro.

Recently the bars to voting in this country have been gradually lowered. Discrimination in voting on the basis of race is abating. But the "movers" also need our help. Twenty per cent or almost 36 million people in this country move during any given 12-month period. The number being disenfranchised because of residency requirements is growing. In 1950 it is estimated the 4 million people could not vote because they could not meet residency requirements; by 1954 that number had grown to 5 million people; and in 1960 it is believed that 8 million people lost their vote because they moved. We are penalizing the people in this country for being successful, for having the motivation to try to do better, to get ahead. This should not be done.

We should be concerned about the low voter turnout in this country; people need to be encouraged to vote. But we have a responsibility to make as simple and easy as possible the opportunity to vote.

Since the Constitution of the United States indirectly places with the states the responsibility for setting voter qualifications in Federal elections, we have a hodgepodge of election laws in this country today.

Today there are 40 different combinations of state, county, precinct,

and city residency requirements in existence in the 50 states. State residence requirements range from 6 months to 2 years; however, some states have waived all or part of their requirements for voting in Presidential elections. Residence requirements in counties vary from none at all to 1 year; requirements for other local jurisdictions cover the same range. The most popular requirements for voting used by the states are: residence in the state 1 year; in the county, 3 months; in the locality, 30 days.

Alabama and Mississippi have the most severe state residency requirements. Both require 2 years of residence before allowing an individual to vote. These two states also have the most stringent county and district requirements for voting. Alabama stipulating that you must live within a county 1 year before you can vote and Mississippi imposing that same qualification on its voters within congressional districts.

Let us face it; the states have not modernized their residence requirements to meet the increased number of people who move. Only 12 states allow new residents to vote if they have lived within that state for 6 months. The rest of the 38 states require residence of more than 1 year. The situation becomes even more muddled when the additional requirements of county and precinct obligations are considered. In fact, precinct requirements vary as much as 10 days to 1 year and county requirements range as high as 1 year or 6 months in 11 states.

Mobility has become a dynamic characteristic in this country; it is part of our collective personality. American traits which have distinguished this country's record such as courage, sense of adventure, ambition, willingness to move, to strike out to better one's self, today are costing millions of our fellow citizens the right to vote. According to the Census Bureau, in 1960, 19,800,000 American adults changed their place of residence. Of this number, 13.2 million moved from state to state.

It is estimated that 8 million of the 19.8 million people were disenfranchised because they were unable to meet the residency requirement imposed upon them. Five million additional voters were kept away from the polls due to illness and 2.6 million were traveling for business or pleasure and were unable to obtain absentee ballots. The American Heritage Foundation estimates that various voting restrictions kept 19,590,000 people from the polls in 1960. Certainly, with only 112,000 votes separating the two party's candidates in 1960, the votes of these people conceivably could have changed the outcome of the election.

Experts see that the percentage of voters being disenfranchised has been rising about 1 per cent every 2 years. Commenting on these figures, the President's Commission on Registration and Voting Participation predicted that "a high rate of mobility is likely to continue." Certainly the bustling internal mobility is greater in this country than in any other free country in the world.

Migratory laborers and Negroes are two groups that come to mind immediately as those who possibly suffer a great deal because of stringent voting requirements. The rate of mobility is also high among those who live in the urban areas of this country as well as among the people who are moving from the farms to the city. But these groups are not exclusive. Many experts maintain, and I believe rightly so, that professional and business people are among those hardest hit.

W. Ross Yates, in a paper delivered at the 1962 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, said:

"By comparison with the movers in 1900, the migrant of the 1960's is less likely to be an unlettered farmhand or factory worker and more likely to be an educated businessman, white-collar worker, or skilled laborer."

Certainly many of the victims of the outmoded residency requirements include those citizens who are best

equipped to vote. People on their way up the "ladder of progress" who are seeking to better their own interests and, concomitantly, the Nation's best interest, by moving to take advantage of the best opportunities available, should not be penalized in this way.

In 1954 Congress called upon the states to ease residence requirements. However, relatively few advances have been made.

One movement of reform has been to lower state residence requirements. Louisiana, Rhode Island, and Alabama have reduced their state requirements from 2 years to 1 year. New Jersey reduced its requirements from 1 year to 6 months. Local residency requirements have been lowered by North Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, and South Carolina.

Interstate movers have found relief in changes of residency requirements in the states of Alabama, California, North and South Dakota, Maine, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Connecticut.

Another type of reform has been to try to ease voting restrictions on interstate movers in Presidential and Vice Presidential elections. Here again there has not been any coordinated legislation by the states. Two fundamentally opposite approaches have been taken. The state of Connecticut was the first to pass legislation of this general character.

The so-called Connecticut plan allows a person who is a registered voter in his last place of residence to vote by absentee ballot in Presidential elections up to 2 years after moving out of the state of that residence. In order to take advantage of this law, former residents of Connecticut must get certification from an election official in their new place of residence that they will be unable to vote due to a residency requirement.

A second approach to the problem of interstate movers was inaugurated by Wisconsin in 1954. Wisconsin law waives part of its residency requirements for new residents in presidential elections. If a person has lived

in Wisconsin 1 year and in his precinct 10 days and is otherwise qualified to vote—age, and so forth—he can vote in a presidential election but not in a congressional, senatorial, state or local election. A total of 15 states have followed Wisconsin's lead.

Eight states have followed the "Connecticut plan" by allowing former residents to vote. However, since each state differs in the details of the laws they have enacted, the situation is still muddled. Sixteen states have allowed new residents to vote in presidential elections; but, as in the case of the states who allow former residents to vote, there are almost as many variations as there are states.

Can Congress regulate by legislation the residence qualifications of voters in Federal elections? Historically, traditionally, and constitutionally legislation in this field is not within the scope of action by Congress.

May Congress regulate by legislation the residence qualifications of voters in Federal elections? Apparently it may not. Other than unenforceable recommendations to the states, it would appear that an amendment to the Constitution of the United States is the only method available to Congress for modifying such requirements.

I believe that every American citizen should have the right to vote in Presidential, congressional, and senatorial elections. In order to protect this right and privilege I propose to allow an eligible voter who has moved between states to vote in a Presidential, congressional, or senatorial election in his last place of residence until he fulfills the residence requirements of his new place of residence.

There are two sections to the amendment I propose. Section I would allow a person to vote for President, Vice President, Senator, or Representative in his last state of residence if, after moving, he is prevented from voting in elections for those offices solely because of failure to meet residency requirements. He could vote

in this manner until he fulfilled the residency voting requirements of his new place of residence.

Section 2 of the proposed amendment would give the Congress the power to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation. This section is included because I believe the procedures and regulations that would implement section I of the amendment should be as uniform as possible. People would know that regardless of where they moved in the United States the procedures for obtaining and casting their absentee ballots would be the same. The diversity that now exists among the state election laws is detrimental to maximum participation under those laws. In Connecticut, for instance, that state which allows former citizens to vote in presidential elections, only 2,946 citizens took advantage of the law. Uniformity would be essential to maximum participation and benefit from the amendment.

The argument that residence requirements permit citizens newly arrived in a particular state time in which to become intelligently informed about local issues is not disturbed by my amendment. Voters would be casting their votes in districts with which they are familiar and from which they have only very recently moved.

Only in the most unusual circumstances would one be able to vote in more than one election under the provisions of this bill. The most stringent and restrictive residency requirements declared 2 years residency in order to vote. Since congressional elections are held every 2 years, presidential elections every 4 years, and senatorial elections every 2 or 4 years, it is not likely that one citizen could cast ballots in two different states.

There would be little danger of fraud. I would envisage that the procedures under this law would be similar to those in effect in Connecticut where, in order to vote by absentee ballots, former residents must obtain an affidavit signed by an election official from their new place of residence stating that they cannot vote in

that state due to residence requirements.

Representative government demands not only that each citizen shall be represented in the Government; but even more importantly, that each citizen shall have the right to participate in the selection of those who are to govern him. To deprive any American of his voice in selecting members of his Government simply because he has moved from one place to another within the boundaries of the United States is to deprive him of a basic privilege of citizenship.

YIPPEE!

It's not a very dignified headline, but it's the way we feel about the nomination of Hubert Humphrey as the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee.

For almost twenty years, Humphrey has helped to keep the taste of progress on America's lips. Not that most appreciated it. For a long time they took him to be a nut. Then, as his proposals, one by one, became law, they took him for granted.

Now we can take him the way he deserves to be taken: as a superb national leader. With Johnson at the reins and Humphrey riding shotgun at his side, we expect to see this old American wagon make extremely good time these next four years.

BACK-ISSUE INDEX

Each month, THE IDLER will print an index of articles from past issues that have continuing interest. While they last, these back issues may be ordered from THE IDLER, 125 5th St. NE, Washington 2, D. C. at 50c a copy. Please enclose the proper amount. We can not bill.

GOLDWATER, Barry — Selections from his voting record (Sept. '64)

HURRICANES—Detailed report of what they are, how they are formed, and their effects (Sept. '64)

PRAYER-READING DECISION OF SUPREME COURT—Detailed reply to critics by constitutional lawyer Leo Pfeffer (Sept. '64)

WHY NOT VIRGINIA?



Some Republican, we forget which one, has come up with a good idea. He suggested that Bobby Kennedy, if he really had wanted to do something useful for this country, should have run for the Senate from Virginia, against reactionary Harry Byrd, rather than in New York, against liberal Ken Keating.

The real shame of the Kennedy candidacy is not that Kennedy is a carpetbagger but that he should exercise his non-too-moderate ambitions against as able and worthwhile a gentleman as Senator Keating.

Down in Virginia, a state in which Kennedy has even more claim to residency than he does in New York, he could have made a considerable contribution by attempting to unseat Senator Byrd.

Some may say it's too late now to speculate on such a course, but we don't think so. We believe that if Kennedy used his many political talents, he could still get on the ticket in Virginia, somehow. After all, look how easily he did it in New York.

"Ah don't know where he (Governor Wallace) is going, and Ah don't know what he's going to do when he gets there."

—Alabama delegate to Democratic Convention

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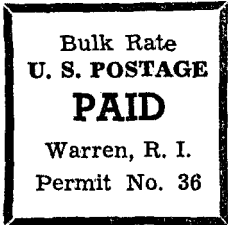
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